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ABSTRACT

A large-scale study of the relationship between ethnocentrism and cultural relativism was made to evaluate the effects of an anthropology curriculum on students' levels of ethnocentrism. Its hypothesis is that ethnocentrism is modified by studying anthropology and, to a lesser extent, other social sciences. The design, execution, and analysis of the study of ethnocentrism in high school students from a Chicago suburb are described as modified by the school's environment. Pre- and posttests were administered to 352 male and female subjects in the 10th, 11th, and 12th grades during the 1969-70 school year. The study has both theoretical and applied characteristics, which are derived from its goals--course evaluation, measurement scale methodological innovation, measurement instrument development, and substantive clarification--and it has both virtues and faults from using naturally occurring groups to obtain a "normal" sample. Two new measures of ethnocentrism were developed; therefore, an investigation of the intercorrelation of these measures, three accepted measures, and related concepts is proposed. Questionnaires used in this study are included in appendixes. (Author/ND)

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Working Paper

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF MANAGEMENT

Working Paper #127-72

Ethnocentrism, Education, and Anthropology: A Preliminary Report

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INTRODUCTION

This paper describes the design, execution and analysis of a large-scale study of ethnocentrism, as found in high school students and as modified by the high school environment. The study had both theoretical and applied characteristics, which were derived from its several goals: course evaluation, measurement scale methodological innovation, measurement instrument development, and substantive clarification. The study had both virtues and faults derived from being conducted using naturally occurring groups.

The opportunity for this study arose suddenly and unexpectedly; consequently the study had some of the characteristics of a crash, or salvage, research program. In August, 1969, Susan B. Gilfillan was engaged by a suburban school system to teach anthropology as a full-time, year-long, regular elective course to high school students. At the time, this constituted a considerable innovation in high school curriculum; although short anthropology units were currently being offered as parts of general social science courses, no Minnesota public high school was known to teach a year-long anthropology course. Although anthropologists, including Margaret Mead, had been involved for several years in the development of curriculum materials, very few high schools in the United States offered Anthropology on a full-time basis, and those known to the author were all expensive, private schools.

The suburban school system, considered relatively progressive, offered a number of social science electives which could be used either to replace a traditional world history course (otherwise required of eleventh grade students), or could be freely elected by sophomores, juniors and seniors. The other social science electives included International Relations, Comparative Government, a course entitled "Project Social Studies", and a Conservation course. The announcement of the new elective was sufficiently attractive to the high school students so that several hundred signed up for Anthropology in advance during the previous spring. This necessitated the use of two anthropology teachers; one of them was an experienced Bachelor of Science history teacher, whose experience with anthropology consisted of six credits of undergraduate study. Mrs. Gilfillan, the other teacher, held both Bachelor's and Master's degrees in anthropology; she had experience as a college teaching assistant and teaching associate but no education courses or high school teaching experience. She had also done field work in Chile. Each teacher was assigned to teach five classes of anthropology under a traditional one-hour class schedule (5 classes per teacher each day).

Because of her lack of a teaching degree, Mrs. Gilfillan was issued a provisional teaching certificate and was signed to a one-year contract. Her provisional certification, and the unusual nature of the course, made her continued employment in this position a year by year proposition. After the idea of conducting a research project had occurred to her, the course and contract uncertainty, the rapid approach of the beginning of school, led to the conclusion that if research was to be conducted it had best be conducted quickly during the 1969-1970 school year. Therefore, a proposal for a large scale questionnaire study was submitted to appropriate administrators shortly before the opening of the school year. It was approved, with only minor changes, within a few weeks by several levels of the school administration.

Thereafter, detailed planning, questionnaire development, meetings with teachers, and schedule making occurred. The questionnaire measures were pretested barely a month after the submission of the proposal, in late September.

Anthropology and Ethnocentrism

From the beginning of its history as a social science, cultural relativism, or the attitude of value neutrality with regard to foreign cultures, has been central to anthropology. This doctrine holds that in order to properly study another culture, one must put aside the values and stereotypes of his own culture, and learn to look at the other culture in terms of its own values, cognitive system, social norms, etc. Value neutrality has been. and may continue to be, merely a research method or intellectual tool for some anthropologists, necessary both to get along with, and to understand, members of another culture. As a tool, it may not reflect deeply felt respect for the values, customs, and rights of members of the other culture, showing instead merely an ability to put aside the prejudices and behaviors of the anthropologist's own culture, as a temporary expedient. For many anthropologists, however, cultural relativism is more than a method. For these, it is a humanistic personal value orientation, a way of life, and a value in itself, in addition to being a useful methodological tool. This is not surprising; continued contact with, and understanding and appreciation of, another culture often leads to a position of respect and sympathy, as well as understanding. Indeed, one of the earliest empirical findings of social psychology is that contiguity alone (if voluntary) leads to liking. Proximity (physical nearness) in hosing, work situations, seating, etc., tends to lead to friendship; contact between members of ethnic groups tends to lead to lowered prejudice, etc., quite reliably, barring coercion or similar negative patterning circumstances (Shaw, 1971, pp. 87-89).

The teaching of anthropology involves not only factual information transfer, but also, and perhaps more importantly, the instilling of the attitude of cultural relativism, at least as a method. In fact, this attitude may be a precondition for the understanding of most anthropological knowledge. It is certainly possible for any student to learn the mere facts that Arabs may have four wives, that Pygmies collect water in ostrich eggs, and that the Japanese revere their ancestors. However, to understand and to appreciate a social system built around the polygamous family, it may be necessary for that student to abandon the native American reactions to such a situation, such as "Hot damn! A different woman every night!", or, "How could the women put up with that? I would be jealous!"

The opposite of cultural relativism may be said to be ethnocentrism. Ethnocentrism has been defined as "the universal tendency for any people to put their own culture and society in a central position of priority and worth." (Kiesing, 1964, p. 46); another definition is: "the emotional attitude that one's own race, nation, or culture is superior to all others." (Webser, 1966, p. 499). While cultural relativism, as a basic methodological assumption, has not been subject to much empirical study, ethnocentrism has attracted considerable interest from researchers in the social sciences.

The term ethnocentrism was coined by Sumner in 1906 (Rosenblatt, 1964, p. 131), and has enjoyed considerable use since that time. Campbell and Levine (1961) state that the general theory of ethnocentrism is an "unannounced emergent, a common project to be claimed by no one discipline or school" but yet "more widely accepted and used than any other doctrine within the social sciences," (p. 83). The theory of ethnocentrism is emergent in the sense that it represents the consensus of a large number of individual approaches, not originally undertaken in any related fashion. Only recently has this theory been systematized, and so far this has been primarily by the collection of

propositions rather than the generation and testing of a complete theory (Rosenblatt, 1964; Campbell & Levine, 1961; Druckman, 1968).

In social-psychological usage, ethnocentrism is considered a stable characteristic of the individual. It is usually regarded as an attitude, but at the same time, is often related to personality characteristics (Adorno, et al., 1950; Martin & Westie, 1959) which are presumed to be deeper and more enduring than attitudes. Ethnocentrism is usually considered, in social psychological theory, to be one of several possible causal factors in specific cases of prejudice (others being conformity to ethnocentric group norms, learned prejudice, etc.). By contrast, sociological usage is somewhat more likely to regard ethnocentrism as a universal characteristic of group members (Campbell & Levine, 1961, pp. 83-84; Catton & Hong, 1962; Druckman, 1968). For purposes of this paper, as for any study which proposes to measure and differentiate individuals with regard to ethnocentrism, the former usage must be adopted.

The sociologist Emory Bogardus began the systematic investigation of ethnocentrism during the early part of this century, devising the social distance scale (Bogardus, 1925, 1933). This scale consists of a list of ethnic groups, nationalities, classes, or other groupings, and a list of social actions and relationships. The respondent is asked to check those actions or relationships in which he would engage with the members of each grouping. The scale has been widely used to investigate the distancing of persons from classes, occupations, ethnic groups, non-ethnic minorities, national groups, tribes, etc. (Photiadis & Biggar, 1962; Vaughan, 1962; Triandis & Triandis, 1960; Brewer, 1968). Many studies have used lists of items different from those of Bogardus, and often greater in numbers; these have permitted the refinement of the scale, and the dimensional investigation of the social distance phenomenon (Triandis & Triandis, 1962). Thus, although these many studies are not all strictly comparable, this problem is not particularly serious, and the history of use of this

instrument is truly impressive.

In the last two decades, certain innovations in techniques and interpretation have been made: Triandis & Triandis (1960) and others (Stein, 1966; Stein, Hardyck & Smith, 1965; Triandis & Davis, 1965) have done studies using imaginary stimulus people in a factorial design, in order to determine which attributes of outgroups contribute most to social distance. Westy (1952, 1953, 1954, see also Goldman, 1962) differentiated four categories of social behaviors, and found that a given outgroup member was distance quite differently with regard to different types of relationships. Recently, Triandis & Davis (1965) integrated these two approaches, showing at the same time that two different personality types of prejudiced persons exist, and react differently with regard to outgroup characteristics and behavioral dimensions. The latter study represents something of a grand synthesis as well as being an extremely sophisticated piece of research.

Another most interesting innovation is the use of fictitious outgroups in the list of groups to be weighted in a social distance scale. This procedure seems to make the social distance scale a measure of "pure" ethnocentrism. The fictitious outgroups can have no objective referent value to raters, so that reactions to them must be considered expressions of a more general characteristic of the person. Eisenberg (1968) used the fictitious names "Lagesi" and "Yurasian" as stimuli among real groups in a social distance scale; while many better educated subjects doubted the existence of these groups, those who did not doubt rated these groups as among the three most rejected outgroups in each of the samples. These subjects often were able to ascribe geographical and racial characteristics to these fictitious outgroups, and to add other details of life style and dress, mainly "savage". Catton & Hong (1962) present fictitious-outgroup material used for other purposes, which might be used in constructing a more elaborate measure.

The other major research tradition in the field of ethnocentrism is the California E Scale approach. This scale was developed in 1949 as part of the large research project summarized in Adorno, et al., (1950). This project investigated the psychological predisposition to fascism, and was supported by Jewish philanthropy in the aftermath of the Second World War. Although the various authors had diverse disciplinary backgrounds, the theoretical basis of the work was a psychodynamic theory of the syndrome leading to the holding of anti-semetic, ethnocentric, conservative, and anti-democratic (or fascistic) ideologies. Separate scales to measure each of these were constructed, refined, and re-refined. Extensive interview and projective case studies were also undertaken, and the results of the various approaches compared and interwoven with one another in the final book. In later years, the ethnocentrism scale, like the other scales, has continued to see considerable use; recently, however, methodological studies have been at least as important an outgrowth of the authoritarian personality research as its substantive outgrowth.

In addition to these important theoretical research efforts in the area of ethnocentrism, there have been a great many other studies concerned with the more practical problem of prejudice. There is a vast quantity of research concerning prejudice towards specific U.S. outgroups, especially Negroes and Jews, which will not be cited in detail here. Shaw and Wright (1967) and Robinson, Rusk & Head (1968) describe a large number of scales concerned with Negroes, Jews, Germans, Chinese, Russians, and others. There are also combined and general purpose scales for measuring attitudes towards several groups at once. In addition, of course, the related areas of authoritarianism, liberalism--conservatism, etc., have been thoroughly explored.

Another approach is based upon the frequency with which definitions of ethnocentrism include the stereotyping of groups as one of its characteristics.

Campbell & Levine (1961) discuss the study of stereotypy in some detail. While this is interesting and useful in itself, it does not lend itself to quantification, and thus is not considered in this study.

There are relatively few experimental studies of ethnocentrism. One very elegant study, which operationalizes the general definition of ethnocentrism in a truly artistic way, is that of Druckman (1968). Druckman ran groups of subjects through a week-long international politics simulation game, at the end of which he had each subject rate all other subjects. Druckman defined ethnocentrism as the difference between average ratings in in-group members and of members of other groups of subjects. His measure of ethnocentrism is sophisticated and non-obvious; unfortunately, his method is not applicable to the present type of research.

Objectives, 1: Distribution of Ethnocentrism

It is an extremely common finding in the social sciences that prejudice, ethnocentrism, and similar traits are differentially distributed by social class, intelligence, and other demographic factors (Martin & Westy, 1959, p. 525-526; Adorno et al., 1950, passim). One of the purposes of this study was to produce descriptive statements regarding the distribution of ethnocentrism by academic course, age level, sex, ability and experience in foreign countries and other states. There are at least three areas of interest which can be investigated using the background variables. First, of course, is the simple goal of description of our sample and of the distribution of ethnocentrism within it, and comparison with national norms where possible. Second, it is possible to generate correlational data bearing on the question of whether a history of foreign residence has any tendency to reduce high school students' levels of ethnocentrism. It was not unreasonable to expect that considerable numbers of our subjects may have had extensive experience living abroad; the

suburb in which the study was conducted is located near a major airport and a military base, and houses considerable numbers of airline employees, military personnel, and others who may have taken their families abroad. Finally, it is of interest to determine whether there is any tendency in our sample for ethnocentric persons to choose one elective course over another. Again, the data on the question would be strictly correlational, and therefore not definitive; however, no data on this area currently exist, and correlational data may be considered superior to no data at all.

Objectives, 2: The effect of course work on ethnocentrism

A major hypothesis to be tested in this study was that exposure to anthropology course materials should result in a decrease in students' levels of ethnocentrism. To the extent that other social science classes contain material similar to anthropological material, students in these classes may also be expected to decline in ethnocentrism. In general, this material would be that which provides opportunity for the student to make comparisons of cultures or societies; especially this would be true to the extent the student is encouraged to take the point of view of the other group as an analytical tool, for instance by reading original source materials. Thus, the existing social science electives may be ordered on the extent to which they produce changes in students' levels of ethnocentrism. It is possible that the established world history courses, using at least some old-fashioned materials, may actually increase students' levels of ethnocentrism.

There is a considerable body of data concerning the modifiability of ethnocentrism. McGuigan (1959) found that a college student studying abroad for a year decreased on various distance measures significantly more than a control group, and became more "xenophilic" and less favorable toward Americans. Lever (1965) found that white South African students given information showing the

unscientific nature of local racist theory regarding Africans and Coloreds decreased in social distance toward those groups. Statistically significant changes occurred only when the information was presented in lecture form, or was read and then discussed, but students who merely read the material changed in the predicted direction, while controls changed hardly at all. Rosenblatt (1964) cites both theoretical and experimental evidence to support his proposition I.C.12: "Increased social interaction with an outgroup may decrease ethnocentrism toward that outgroup..." Kinnick and Plattor (1967) compared white southern educators who completed an 11 week training institute in desegregation problems and the problems of culturally disadvantaged students, with a comparable group in another graduate seminar in education at the same university. They found that the institute participants had more positive attitudes toward Negroes and toward desegregation on a posttest, and also that the experience significantly decreased their ethnocentrism (as measured by the E scale). It appears that much of the difference of group means in postmeasures of E may be due to institute participants' change on the "other and patriotism" subscale of the E scale, which was significant as was their change on the Negro subscale. Declines in experimental group level of authoritarianism were also noted.

On the other hand, the evidence is far from unequivocal with regard to this hypothesis. Kafka's study (1968) of students taking summer courses abroad failed to find a clear effect on W, and a study by Smith (1955) of summer tourists, work group members, and Experiment in International Living participants similarly failed to find an effect on W and on E. However, both studies suggest that different types of participants in these activities are affected in different ways. Those of Kafka's Ss who achieved more deep immersion in the host culture became less "appreciative" of the U.S., while others became less so. Those who did not immerse and change were described as having higher

family income and being more inner-directed, which taken together may point to deeply ingrained upper middle-class smugness or snobbery as a causal factor. Similarly, Smith notes that those of his Ss who changed most on the W and E scales were those whose views had been of the "conformist" conservative type. Ss who had been highly ethnocentric to begin with found support for their prejudices in the experience abroad, while very worldminded, non-ethnocentric Ss were not affected. Finally, Stone (1960) shows that groups of students with high and low exposure to media presentations of desegregation news did not differ with respect to scores on the various subscales on the E scale, and on the F scale.

The factors causing such disparate patterns of results are not entirely clear. The results suggest that, in the case of experience abroad, a relatively long exposure is necessary to modify ethnocentrism, and the time factor is given added importance by Kinnick and Flattor's finding that more change had occurred in institute participants three months after the end of the experience, as compared with change measured immediately afterwards. The results of Kafka and of Smith suggest that pre-experience personal differences are quite important. This proposal involves testing and retesting students taking a full school year's course in anthropology; the time involved may be sufficient for any effect to become apparent.

With regard to individual differences, the data cited above suggest that there may be a tendency of those Ss most ethnocentric on the pretest measure to change less than an intermediate group, although perhaps more than those least ethnocentric. There are other reasons for making such a finely differentiated analysis as well. If, as suggested above, the study of anthropology requires the ability to take another's point of view, the most ethnocentric pupils may do least well in the anthropology course, when other factors are held constant. In addition, it is possible that the person's pre-existing level

of ethnocentrism may affect which social science elective he selects.

Objectives, 3: Teacher effects

The size of the high school where the testing was carried out mandated the use of multiple teachers for many courses. This fact, in turn, allowed us the opportunity of examining whether teachers have an effect on their students separate from the effect of the class which the teacher is teaching. For this purpose, two teachers of anthropology may be compared, as may the five teachers of world history. It is reasonable to suppose that a highly ethnocentric teacher might have a considerable influence upon his students, making those most influencable more ethnocentric, and perhaps, reactively, making others less so. It is also possible that a less skilled, less experienced and less confident teacher of anthropology might fail to teach cultural relativity effectively, either as a method or as a value.

Objectives, 4: New test rationale

If we are interested in ethnocentrism as a general trait, it is obviously more useful to have measures which are not tied to particular groups. Such measures are subject to contamination by memories of experiences with the group (often socially patterned in a negative way), and by prejudices not necessarily related to personality characteristics of the individual, for instance, prevalent ideological notions concerning those groups. This reservation is especially valid with regard to the California E scale items, but may apply to social distance items as well. Thus, in the original Bogardus scale, the items dealing with marriage and with neighborhood are related to the content of prejudicial opinions current in the South and in some northern circles, regarding the desirability of Negroes living together, apart from whites, and of intermarriage. On the other hand, the item "would work beside in an office" does not seem to be related to commonplace anti-Negro ideology, at least in the

north. Thus, using certain social distance items with regard to the outgroup "Negro" would risk contamination from current ideology.

There is a second equally serious problem regarding current measures of ethnocentrism and related concepts. This problem is that these measures are nearly always constructed as attitude scales. Such scales ask the subject to endorse or reject prejudiced statements about various outgroups, including ethnic-minorities, national, and racial groups, socioeconomic classes, deviants, etc. Scales which are balanced for response bias also include favorable opinions of such groups. The problem with this procedure is that, although the concept of ethnocentrism is generally defined in ways which are largely limited to attitudes, and the operational measures of ethnocentrism have in fact, been largely limited to attitudes, both non-social psychological definitions of the concept, and many social psychological studies, imply a wider meaning. There is, indeed, often surplus meaning in social psychologists' discussions which in part negates the narrowness of their definitions. And the existence of considerable data (Adorno, 1950; Martin & Westie, 1959) tying ethnocentric attitudes to personality, makes consideration of the wider meaning desirable. The defacto bias in operationalization of the concept may have distorted part, or all, of the research which has been done regarding ethnocentrism. If we are to take seriously the broader definitions of the construct, e.g. that of Keasing (1964) previously quoted (p. 1), it is incumbent upon us to create measures of ethnocentrism which are not restricted to attitudes.

Ideally these problems can be solved by creating a scale which is free of references to specific real world outgroups, and which is also not based upon attitude items. In addition, such a scale should be related as closely as possible to the theoretical definition of interest, and should also be unobtrusive, counter-balanced, etc. Such a scale, unfortunately, would be extremely difficult to construct. Druckman's method, using artificially constructed

outgroups in a laboratory situation, is admirable in avoiding specific real world outgroups and attitude scale items, but is unfortunately poorly suited to use for individual measurement purposes. The use of fictional outgroups in some of the Triandis' studies avoids the problem of contamination by real world experiences and prejudices, but the Triandis' method also uses attitude items.

There appear to be several methods which could be used to construct measuring instruments which would avoid using attitude items, though they would not avoid the problems related to using known existing groups. These include:

1. Method of placement errors: measure the extent to which the subject misorders the U.S., his own religion and/or ethnic group, etc., in a list of similar units, with reference to such measures of progress and achievement as infant mortality, support of public education, proportion of high school graduates, support of charities, per capita income, etc.

2. Method of hypothetical cases: "what should be done" questions concerning conflicts, or the distribution of scarce resources, between groups.

3. Rationalization method: under the guise of a "social science and history information survey," ask Ss for statements about the reasons for certain real events, and code their statements for rationalizations favorable to the ingroup. An error-scoring method is possible, using pairs of similar events. In addition to such events as wars and intergroup contacts, customs, dress, art forms, etc. can be included, and answers stressing the propriety, natural-law origin, sensibleness, etc. of the latter may be taken as ethnocentric. Coding is not easy, however, making this a somewhat difficult method. Multiple choice statements for response alternatives would make the investigator's job easier, at some cost in the form of restriction of subject's response range.

Objectives, 5: Correlation of measures

Definitions in social psychology, though usually formulated in a carefully-grounded theoretical manner, have a tendency to drift into operationalism. Although a measure may originally be considered simply one relatively imperfect attempt to get at a construct, later studies using the measure will tend to define, quite implicitly, the construct by the measure used. Thus, studies of the correlation of ethnocentrism with some other trait take a Ss score on the E scale as defining the level of his ethnocentrism. For that reason, it is an interesting problem in the theory of ethnocentrism to study how well the various measures correlate, and whether there might be any advantage in combining several somewhat different measures to form a more adequate approximation to measurement of the whole content of the theoretical construct.

In addition to the established measures, of course, we are interested in determining whether the new, somewhat different measures included in this proposal have any usefulness. Substantial correlation with the other measures would indicate that they tap the same or a similar area. If it later develops that a combined score for ethnocentrism behaves more in accord with predictions made from theory than do the established measures, it may be argued that part of the reason the new measure does not correlate perfectly with the old is that the new measure taps additional parts of the construct of ethnocentrism, not measured by the established measures.

Introduction: Summary

This study was designed to provide information on several topics. It is the first study known to the author of the relationship between ethnocentrism and cultural relativism and it is the first study known to the author to evaluate the effects of an anthropology curriculum upon its students levels of ethnocentrism. On the basis of previous research, it was hypothesized that

ethnocentrism is modifiable by the effect of taking anthropology, and to a lesser extent, also, of other social sciences. Furthermore, the opportunity to study the distribution of pre-existing ethnocentrism was provided; as was the opportunity to evaluate influences upon, and influences of, that pre-existing level. Finally, the development of two new measures of ethnocentrism was proposed, as was the study of the intercorrelation of these measures and three accepted measures of ethnocentrism and related constructs.

METHOD

Procedure and subjects

With the aim of furnishing information on all of the above questions, a complex study using a considerable number of subjects was designed. A large questionnaire was administered to male and female subjects in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades. The first administration of the questionnaire took place on October 24, 28, and November 10, 1969; the later testing dates were May 18, 19, and 20, 1970. Administration of the measures took place in classrooms during a regular 55-minute class period.

Although it was desired to test students at the opening of the school term, this proved to be impossible for bureaucratic reasons. From the point of view of assessing the effectiveness of anthropology for changing ethnocentric attitudes, however, late administration was probably not terribly damaging, since the first weeks of the anthropology course were devoted to an Introduction to Anthropology as a discipline, emphasizing prehistory and physical Anthropology, not cultural Anthropology. The text (Salzmann, Anthropology, 196) used contained a very general description of ethnocentrism, but the topic was not explored extensively in class at this time.

The original intention of the investigators was to select a stratified random sample of all social science students at the high school. This intention, unfortunately, was negated by the teachers and administrators who unanimously declared it too difficult and troublesome a procedure. In consultation with the faculty and administration therefore, a compromise sampling method was arrived at. Testing was carried out by whole classes and was done in student's normal classrooms. The classes chosen were selected on the basis of teacher evaluations of their classes for "normalness".

Each teacher evaluated all his classes on a special form designed for the purpose, with regard to how much each represented a representative sampling of intelligence and ability levels, sexes, class origins, personal styles, etc., and the likelihood that special groups of students, including athletes and others, would be under-represented or absent. The classes chosen for the study were those rated most representative. Two classes per teacher were tested for each of the social science electives: one class per teacher was tested for each of five teachers in the required world history course. A total of 17 classes participated, distributed as follows: four anthropology, two international relations, two conservation, two comparative government, two project social studies, and five world history.

Students who were absent from either testing session, who had left school, or who had transferred from one social science class to another, were eliminated from the sample. In addition, one black, one mixed nonwhite, and four oriental subjects were dropped from the sample; there were no known Jewish students in the classes at that time. The original number of subjects was 414, which was reduced to 352 by such eliminations.

A questionnaire booklet was developed, pre-tested, revised, and used for the study. This final booklet (Appendix A) consisted of three accepted measures of ethnocentrism or related constructs, a page on which simple demographic and background data was recorded, and two new measures of ethnocentrism constructed by the author and his collaborator. The standard measures, described below, included a slightly modified version of the Bogardus Social Distant scale, the Worldmindedness scale of Sampson and Smith, and one of the forms of the California E scale. The new scales used two of the three methods suggested above; first, the method of placement errors, and the third, the rationalization method. The identification and demographic data was recorded

on a page which followed the instructions at the beginning of the booklet. The measures were presented in randomized order, the order being held constant for a given subject's two encounters with the questionnaire.

The questionnaire forms presented to the students were stapled into a single booklet, which were numbered. The first page was a blank numbered sheet on which subjects were instructed to write their names. This sheet was then torn off and handed in, before the students began work. The remainder of the booklet was numbered, but students were instructed not to put their names on that part. The blank page was explained as a device to allow the experimenter to correlate test results with final course grades, which would be reported anonymously by number. In fact, the sheet was also used to assure that each student received two booklets with the several forms in the same order. The numbered sheets were detached and discarded by the students after they had received their spring booklets, and the anonymity instructions repeated.

Instructions given in the fall emphasized that the study was not an achievement test, would have no effect on grades, and was concerned with class averages, not individuals. The rationale given was that the study was related to the new social science curriculum at the school, and evaluated the "fit" between the curriculum and the students. Emphasis was laid on the idea that there were no right and wrong answers, and that students' own opinions were wanted. Students were not informed of the intention of retesting, in order to prevent any tendency for students to interpret subsequent coursework in light of anticipated retesting, and to try to "psych out" the research. Subjects were instructed to work quickly but carefully; sufficient time was given so that nearly all finished. Spring instructions outlined the rationale again, repeated the anonymity instructions, and explained that a second testing would allow us to evaluate any changes which might have occurred over time. Emphasis was laid on not attempting to remember and reproduce previous responses.

When the study was explained to the teachers involved, they were cautioned about the need for confidentiality, and asked to cooperate in restricting information about planned retesting and the real purposes of the study. They were asked to refer to the study as the "social science study".

The Worldmindedness Scale, Form W

One definition of the non-ethnocentric person might be that such a person tends to take a trans-group point of view on group-related issues of many kinds. The Worldmindedness scale of Sampson & Smith (1957) measures this sort of attitudes. The authors "identify as highly worldminded the individual who favors a view of the problems of humanity, whose primary reference group is mankind, (and who) may or may not have a heightened interest in and knowledge about international affairs." (p. 99). The authors distinguish worldmindedness as "purely a value orientation, or frame of reference" (p. 99), from knowledge and/or interest in international relations. Although they also appear to distinguish worldmindedness from the dimension of nationalism-internationalism, it appears that the content of the scale includes nationalism-internationalism, as well as various other topics.

The 32 items in the scale were carefully selected from a large pool to avoid statements of fact and topical references, and to make knowledge of international affairs unnecessary in responding. The items are in a forced-choice, six-point Likert format, and are counterbalanced. Eight areas of content are covered: religion, immigration, government, economics, patriotism, race, education, and war. Sampson and Smith offer considerable evidence of the scale's reliability, including a retest after 4½ years. Their validation efforts include attention to internal consistency, validation of the scale by correlation with similar measures, by the known group technique, and by predictive use with high and low scorers. In addition, a later study (Smith &

Rosen, 1958), on the basis of previous work relating worldmindedness and authoritarianism, replicated some interview and projective measures from The Authoritarian Personality, with groups of high- and low-W subjects. They found a highly significant difference in F-scale scores for the two groups, and that the two groups were significantly different on eight of twelve personality variables derived from their other measures. They conclude "...it is parsimonious to consider (F and W) as slightly different aspects of the same basic personality structure" (p. 179-180), a conclusion similar to that of Adorno, et al. (1950). Robinson, Rusk, and Head (1968) state that "subsequent replications of this study have proven the scale to be useful; see Garrison (1961) and Paul (1966)" (p. 303).

For the purposes of the present study the authors' original scoring system was reversed so that a strongly worldminded response was scored in our system as a one, a very anti-worldminded response was scored as a seven, and the theoretical neutral point was four. It should be noted that the least worldminded of the authors' college student subjects made mean scores only slightly below the theoretical neutral point in the scale.

Bogardus social distance scale, Form S

The social distance scale, although a very old and somewhat crude indicator, was chosen for this study for several reasons. In its various forms, it has received considerable use over a long period of time. Furthermore, Bogardus has applied the scale to "roughly stratified" (Bogardus, 1947, p. 56) national samples of 1700-2000 people (which overrepresented the young and well-educated) at intervals over a period of forty years, so that rough and approximate national norms are available. Triandis and Triandis (1960, Triandis, 1964), Ames and Sakuma (1969), and Westie (1953) have demonstrated the existence of a number of dimensions or factors which participate in the

determination of a subject's social distance. Typically, race, occupation, religion, and nationality in that order are found to be important determinants of social distance among Americans; the same factors are sometimes reordered in importance when dealing with European and Japanese subjects. A controversy regarding the relative importance of belief, or personal philosophy, relative to these variables has continued for some time (Triandis, 1961; Rokeach, 1961; Insko and Robinson, 1967; Smith, Williams & Willis, 1967).

The dimensionality of social distance is of relatively little importance when the social distance scale is to be used as a device to measure an individual's mean or average level of distancing from others. This fact and the conclusion of Triandis (1964) that "for very rough work the social distance scale may be regarded as uni-dimensional" (p. 208) led to the adoption of the simple social distance scale for this study. As Triandis (1964) says "Bogardus (1928) was aware of the multi-dimensionality of the domain of social behavior statements, and for this reason was careful to employ only a very few statements falling on a single dimension.....Such scales are adequate as long as the research does not require much refinement." (p. 219). The scale displays very high reliability, and its validity is "satisfactory" (Shaw & Wright, 1967, p. 408) though not unquestioned.

Westie's (1953) summated differences technique represents a methodological improvement over Bogardus' method; in Westie's scale, social distance is scored using the differences between behaviors permitted to in-group and out-group members (note some similarity to the difference scoring of our HK scale). Unfortunately, Westie's scale has not been widely used; Bonjean, et al. (1968) ranked it 36th among 47 measures on the basis of use and citation in the four major sociological journals between 1954-1965, with 7 citations. By contrast, Bogardus' measure ranks 14th, with 18 citations. The cumbersomeness of Westie's

measure, and the fact that the only outgroup used by Westie thus far is American Negroes, also disqualify it for our purposes.

The social distance scale chosen for this study was that published by Bogardus in 1958. Bogardus has published at least three versions of the social distance scale (Bogardus, 1925, 1933, 1958); these differ from one another in details of wording and in a few cases by major changes in the headings for columns three, four, five and six. Although Bogardus states that "in all three of these studies the same racial distance scale was used," (Bogardus, 1958, p. 127), referring to his long term national sample study, he also states that between 1926 and 1946, the social distance scale "had been refined...by socially equa-distance intervals...as described...elsewhere by the writer." This reference is to the version of 1933 which differs both from the version of 1926 and from the version of 1958. Bogardus does not mention the differences between the 1933 and 1958 versions. Indeed, the context of his marks seems to indicate that he regards the various versions of the social distance scale as equivalent, although no evidence is cited in support of this idea.

The 1958 version of the scale was chosen for several reasons: relative frequency and recency of use, modern wording, and use of modern social relationships in the seven columns. The seven statements used in Bogardus, 1958, are:

1) Would marry into group
2) Would have as close friends
3) Would have as next-door neighbors
4) Would work in same office
5) Have as speaking acquaintance only
6) Have as visitors only to my nation
7) Would debar from my nation

The seventh statement was reworded slightly, in order to conform more closely to high school colloquial English of 1969. A shortened list of twenty-two ethnic groups was used.

Scoring for the social distance measure was done in accordance with Bogardus' technique. The columns were numbered from one at the left to seven at the right; the individual's score for each row consisted of the number of the column in which his left most checkmark appeared. Thus, a score of one represents minimal social distance, and a score of seven represents maximum social distance, from each ethnic or national group listed. Individual item scores were summed and the mean used as a summary score.

The California Ethnocentrism Scale, Form E

Consistent with the authors' interest in ideology, the California E scale is made up of opinion, or ideological statements, with which the subject was to indicate agreement or disagreement. A Likert scaling method was used in constructing the instrument; six responses were possible, with no neutral point. The E scale uses only negative items, a characteristic which is often criticized, but which the authors defend (Adorno, et al., 1950, p. 59).

The first forms of the E scale contain three subscales of roughly equal size, with statements concerning Negroes, other ethnic and non-ethnic minorities excluding Jews, and patriotism. Later forms were combined with an anti-semitism scale, and the items divided equally among questions dealing with Negroes, Jews, and other minorities and patriotism. A final, recommended form of 20 items was made up in the latter manner, and is the principal form used in later studies. The authors offer considerable evidence of reliability and validity for several versions of the scale (Adorno, et al., 1950, p. 112-150; Chapman & Campbell, 1959).

The principal criticisms which have been made of the scale are: that how well it succeeds in measuring such a global construct as ethnocentrism cannot

be determined, that the negative wording of the items may lead to response-set effects, and that some of the items are dated. The only way to answer the first criticism is by means of studies such as this, using several measures, and observing the extent to which they tend to measure the same thing. With regard to the second criticism, Chapman and Campbell (1959) found that "the effect of acquiescence upon the E scale shows up as very slight. The obtained correlation between (the new) positive and (the original) negative scales was .70, only slightly less than the ideal one of .74 (given the obtained reliabilities of the two parts)" (p. 156). Thus, use of the all-negative E scale is justifiable, in constrast to findings with the F scale.

Bonjean, et al. (1968, pp. 13-14) found that the California E scale ranked 19th among 47 scales, on the basis of 15 citations in the sociological literature. No other scale of ethnocentrism, except social distance scales, qualified for their ranking by achieving 5 or more citations.

For this study the recommended final form of the ethnocentrism scale was used. Three dated items were slightly reworded in order to conform to modern usage and situations. All three of these changes were made in the other minorities and patriotism subscale; in Item 1, "zootsuiters" was changed to "hippies", in Item 3, "a new world organization" was changed to "the United Nations", and in Item 8, the phrasing was left unchanged except for the removal of the words "secret of" from the phrase "the secret ofthe atom bomb". The authors' scoring system was retained, since it provided a seven-point scale with high scores indicating high levels of ethnocentrism.

The new ethnocentrism measure, Form R

The measure referred to as Form R, or the rankings measure, was designed to tap ethnocentrism as reflected in national, or chauvinistic, pride. The focus was on the nation itself, rather than upon the members of national or

other groups, as is largely true in the previous measures. The rationale was of extreme simplicity: That if a person were putting his society "in a central position of priority and worth..." (Keesing, 1964, p. 24), he should tend to overestimate its standing on indicators of national development and social progress. This should be especially true insofar as such indicators are obvious in meaning, but are based on statistics not part of common knowledge.

Using the data published in The Comparative International Almanac (Ernst & Posner, 1967), a set of 11 other nations was selected which included both nations tending to rank higher than the U.S. on such indicators, and nations tending to rank lower. Subjects were asked to rank these countries, listed alphabetically, on 11 such indicators, using an indicators x countries grid. Ethnocentrism was defined as the ranking of the U.S. higher than its real position, while accurate estimation consisted of giving its correct rank. The possibility of a reverse-ethnocentrism, xenophilia, ethnocentrifugy, also existed, and would be indicated by systematic under-ranking of the U.S., relative to its true position. Four items, on which the U.S. ranks first or second among the 12 nations, were considered filler items; it was impossible for the subject to make an ethnocentric response on these items. The other seven items constituted the scale.

In order to avoid zero scores and negative numbers, 5 was chosen as the neutral, or accurate-ranking, scale score. For scoring the items, the difference between the actual rank and the subject's ranking was added to five, producing a score on a scale from one to nine. Overranking the U.S. thus produces a positive difference, and a high score. Misrankings by more than four steps were considered equivalent to misranking of four places. This convention kept the scale to 1-digit numbers, and in addition prevented a skewed scale, since on most items it was possible to under-rank the U.S. by more steps than

over-rank it, an artifact of America's world position. Furthermore, since underranking the U.S. by five or more steps would put it at or below the level of India and Nigeria on life expectancy, literacy, dietary sufficiency, etc., it was considered both unlikely to occur, and as indicating a form of xenophilia so extreme as to override considerations of realism. Overranking the U.S. by more than four steps was considered more likely, but in fact likely to be an artifact of the similarity of such European countries on the list as Denmark and Switzerland on some of the social progress items: if the U.S. is to be ranked above one, it will probably be ranked above all. On two items, the range was further restricted, to scores of 3 to 7; thus the theoretical maxima and minima for average misranking scores over all items are 8.42 and 1.57, respectively, the former representing maximum ethnocentrism.

Design of the ethnocentrism measure, forms H & K

The new ethnocentrism measure under consideration here uses the method referred to above as the rationalization method. This method consisted of presenting the students with a short statement of a real world occurrence, custom, or behavior pattern together with a series of reasons or rationalizations for that custom, behavior pattern or event. These rationalizations were intended to reflect different degrees of ethnocentric reasoning about the causes of the stimulus item. Subjects were asked to select the one reason or rationalization alternative which was most correct in their view.

The format of this measure was similar to that of the Schuman and Harding (1964) measure of "sympathetic identification with the underdog", although the latter did not come to our attention until after the formulation of our scale. This identification measure consists of eleven 1- to 3-sentence stories, each describing an incident of discrimination or prejudice against a minority person or persons. After each story, Ss are asked what the reaction of the

minority person(s) would be, and presented with four multiple choice alternatives. One alternative consists of sympathetic identification with the victim(s), while the other three are responses of indifference to the situation by the S, ascription of indifference to the victim, and assertion that the victim would regard the incident as a good thing.

The principal difference between the Schuman and Harding measure and our measure is the nature of the choices presented. Only one of the former's alternative responses to each story reflect the dimension of interest; consequently, scoring of their measure is on a yes-no basis. By contrast, the alternatives in the Gilfillan HK scale are designed to reflect differing degrees of the variable, so that finer discriminations are possible, and so that no response is less informative than any other. Clearly, however, both scales are similar in the sense that they ask the subject to react to, or evaluate, a situation, rather than merely endorse an attitudinal statement.

Items for the Gilfillan scale of ethnocentric reasoning were written in pairs, each pair containing one event or custom from an exotic or distant culture or locale and one from familiar American setting. The items of each pair were separated, one item appearing in one short booklet, the other appearing in another booklet in a different position in the overall questionnaire form. This fact allowed double scoring of the scale items, the scoring of both the individual items in terms of the ethnocentrism revealed by the choice of rationale, and a different score for the pair of related items, reflecting the difference in level of ethnocentrism chosen for the rationales of the two equivalent items. The two items of a pair were placed in different positions in the questionnaire in order to minimize the chance that subjects would notice the parallelism between members of a pair.

There were five pairs of items which formed the two sub-scales H and K of this measure. The content of these items consisted of the following:

1. Military: during hostilities between Country A and Country B, Country A attacks neutral Country C in a flanking maneuver.
2. Religious: the use of statuary, candles, incense, bells, etc. in religious ceremonies.
3. Modesty: the omission of traditional female garments.
4. Beauty: indulgence in elaborate beautification rituals.
5. Imperial intervention: invasion by a major power of one of its smaller and weaker satellites.

In each case one member of the pair was taken from a familiar, the other from an exotic or foreign, setting. The items themselves are presented below (Appendix A), together with the response alternatives to each. The two forms, H and K, were presented in random order within each test booklet, and were always separated.

For each item, five or six response alternatives were presented. These were designed to range in each case from responses which required a sophisticated and sympathetic understanding of the situation to responses which constituted a simple, stereotyped, unsympathetic, and non-understanding evaluation. The response alternatives, like the items themselves, were designed to parallel each other, that is, to offer similar types of explanations for the two situations in each pair. Each response, of course, was written in terms appropriate to the context of the item in question.

The use of multiple choice methods, while it simplifies the coding of data obtained, has certain disadvantages. First, as noted above, there is implicit a certain restriction of the subject's response range; that is, certain responses which subjects might make must have been eliminated from any set of alternatives provided by the experimenters. To the extent that these eliminated alternatives represent merely rephrasing of the alternatives provided, there is little lost. However, it may be the case that the experimenter has

neglected certain substantive or analytical possibilities which subject might have considered, and to this extent the experimenter's choice has restricted the subject's freedom of choice. There is also a second aspect to this problem: while the use of multiple choice alternatives eliminates the need for content analysis of hand-written, ad-lib responses, it imposes the necessity for scaling. That is, the results of a content analysis might be reported simply as a table of frequencies, the frequency of the occurrence of each theme in response to a given question. Such a table in turn would be subject to qualitative rather than quantitative analysis. However, a multiple choice question, by rigidly restricting the number of themes which can appear in subject's responses, makes such a table largely irrelevant. Rather, it is appropriate to ask, what is the underlying reality reflected by the subject's interaction with the structured set of alternatives? Or, in the present case, what level of ethnocentrism is reflected in each of the response alternatives?

One way of determining the level of ethnocentrism reflected by each alternative is obviously for the experimenter to assign values. The experimenter would try to assign a value to each response which reflected his best guess as to the ethnocentrism reflected in that response. Unfortunately, this method is totally dependent upon the accuracy and completeness of the experimenter's intuitions. Another method which might be used would involve the use of criterion groups of subjects classified on the basis of their levels of ethnocentrism. Items in the new test would be assigned scale values in accordance with the way subjects of different levels of ethnocentrism responded to them. Unfortunately, such a method presumes that we are able to find a group of subjects who are accurately and reliably grouped according to levels of the variable. For instance, in the case of scales designed to measure factors involved in worker productivity, criterion groups would be selected on production records. The lack of any comparable selection mechanism in this case must invalidate the method.

In the ordinary attitude scale, the subject responds to each attitude statement by checking a box or numbered space along a continuum from endorsement to rejection. In essence, he measures himself on a psychological ruler which has from two to eleven or more equidistant hash marks. If, however, the subject is to respond to a set of discrete alternative statements, these statements must be measured against the ruler. This is done by the "method of equal-appearing intervals", introduced by Thurstone and Chave (1929) (see Edwards, 1957). This method requires that a number of raters sort, or judge, each statement, on the continuum of the variable, which may be divided into from five to eleven divisions. The median value of these judgments in taken as the scale value, and the quality of the item is indicated by Q, the interquartile range, or "spread" of the judgments. Medians and Q were determined in this study by the use of the nomograph of Jurgensen (1943), a graphic method which is fast, accurate, and has the great virtue of reducing the possibility of arithmetic error.

Edwards (1957) states that "...a relatively small number of judges can be used to obtain reliable scale values" in this method. He recommends 50 judges, but cites studies showing that as few as 15 judges may give scale reliability as high as .99 (p. 95). In the scaling of the HK scale, done in mid-1972, an attempt was made to obtain Edwards' recommended 50 judges; although the attempt fell short, the lower limit of 15 was exceeded.

Shortly before the end of the spring quarter, 59 copies of an item-scaling version of scales H and K were distributed to the faculty and graduate students of the University of Minnesota Anthropology Department. The scaling form itself was preceded by a brief explanation of the research which had been undertaken, an explanation of the scaling process, and by a letter requesting the cooperation of the faculty and students signed by the chairman of the department. The evaluation form consisted of a version of the two scales retyped so that following each response alternative there appeared a seven point evaluation

scale. The anthropologists were asked to read first the situation or custom as described, and then each of the alternatives which might be taken to explain it. For each alternative they were asked to give their estimate of how ethnocentric the reason or explanation presented was, from "not ethnocentric" (a numerical value of one) through "very ethnocentric" (a numerical value of seven). A copy of the evaluation questionnaire, its instructions, and the chairman's letter, are appended to this report as Appendix B.

Copies of the evaluation form were placed in each student and faculty member's mail box together with a campus mail return envelope. Anonymity was provided; questions and comments on the items and the research were invited. While the response to mailed and similar questionnaires is often low, and there is a tendency for social scientists to suspect methods not their own, it was hoped that an adequate response rate would be obtained. After several weeks only 13 of the 59 questionnaires had been returned; therefore a follow-up was produced. A reminder letter was placed in each faculty member's box with a note referring him to extra copies of the questionnaire stored above the boxes. Each graduate student received a second copy of the questionnaire by mail with the chairman's letter, a new letter of appeal from the author, and a postpaid returned envelope. This procedure netted four more responses.

Thus, scale values were determined on the basis of 17 raters: 3 first-year grad students, 10 elder grad students, and four faculty members. At least three of the elder graduate students had completed all but their theses, and were teaching at other colleges. This number is considerably less than the optimum, but is sufficient, according to the criterion cited by Edwards.

Medians and Q values for the items are reported in Table 1. As can be seen from inspection of the columns of medians, the responses to each item do form a scale, in the sense of providing a rather wide range of ethnocentrism

TABLE 1: Scaling Values for Ethocentric Reasoning Scale, Forms H & K

CONTENT:	War				Religion				Modesty				Beauty				Imperialism			
	Alien 1		famil. 7		Alien 6		famil. 2		Alien 3		famil. 8		Alien 9		famil. 4		Alien 5		famil. 10	
Response	Mdn	Q	Mdn	Q	Mdn	Q	Mdn	Q	Mdn	Q	Mdn	Q	Mdn	Q	Mdn	Q	Mdn	Q	Mdn	Q
a	6.8	1.0	4.4	*2.8	6.8	1.7	6.8	0.7	5.9	1.7	5.7	1.7	7.0	0.5	6.7	1.3	2.8	4.0	2.4	4.0
b	2.6	2.3	5.8	3.7	3.8	*3.4	2.0	2.9	2.4	*4.3	6.5	2.5	2.6	2.1	1.4	2.2	3.5	4.0	6.7	1.2
c	1.1	0.6	2.0	*2.2	6.3	1.0	6.1	1.2	1.9	2.8	3.8	*4.8	1.6	1.5	2.3	2.1	2.3	2.0	2.9	2.5
d	6.0	1.9	6.7	1.0	4.6	2.3	4.2	2.1	2.2	2.0	2.2	2.0	1.4	1.3	2.7	2.8	4.3	*3.5	3.1	*3.2
e	2.0	*3.2	4.3	4.1	4.0	2.5	4.0	1.9	5.8	1.9	3.5	3.2	4.2	2.8	5.3	3.6	6.6	2.1	5.6	2.5
f					3.8	2.4	3.5	3.8	1.2	0.8	6.8	2.6					2.5	3.0	5.4	2.3
Mean Q value		1.8		2.76		2.22		2.1		2.25		2.80		1.64		2.40		3.1		2.62
No. of Q values >3		1		2		1		1		1		2		0		1		3		2
Range of medians	5.7		4.7		3.0		4.8		4.7		4.6		5.6		5.3		4.3		4.3	

*Bimodal

00036

values. With one exception, the range of medians is 4.3 points or more for each item, and in every case, the range extends well toward both ends of the scale. Therefore, the scale based on these alternatives should be able to discriminate among people.

Inspection of the columns of Q values reveals that the alternatives vary considerably in the range of ratings given them by the anthropologists. Q values range from 0.5 (perfect agreement among raters) to 4.8, a value which is somewhat below the Q value of 6.0 produced by maximum disagreement of raters. Mean Q values for each item fall below 3.0 (with one exception), but each item, except one, has at least one alternative with a Q value above 3. In addition, inspection of the raw frequency distributions reveals a number of response alternatives on which there appeared to be some suggestion of a bimodal pattern of ratings. These alternatives are starred in Table 1.

High values of Q, e.g. those indicating that the 25th and 75th quartiles are more than 3 scale units apart, are indications that items must be considered as ambiguous or vague, and therefore unsatisfactory for use in a final version of the scale. Bimodality, similarly, indicates that two quite different meanings are assigned to the item being rated. Such conclusions regarding specific items in the HK scale must be tempered by the knowledge that, given the very small number of raters used, the effects of aberrant raters may be magnified. Raters who reject the task, who work carelessly, or who deliberately try to sabotage some aspect of the project, would fall under the aberrant category. While there is some indication (in hostile comments and in patterns of individual ratings) that there may have been careless and/or hostile raters, it would be extremely difficult ro remove them in an objective manner. Thus, the solution to the problem of confidence in Q values lies in obtaining more raters. Since deviants have more effect on the quartiles than on the location of the median, this would minimize the damage to confidence in the usefulness of an

item, without necessarily changing the median value assigned to it. The small number of raters meant that judgments of bimodality were made on the basis of 5-rater clusters, and are therefore far from definitive.

Bearing these considerations in mind, it must also be said that there is a concentration of "bad" (high-Q, bimodal) responses in three of the scale items, those with reference to recent international politico-military affairs, items 5, 7, and 10. In each of these items, two or three of the six alternatives are "bad". The content of the problematic responses appears very similar to the terms of American debate over these cases of war and peace, suggesting that it is particularly difficult to rate the ethnocentrism of such political arguments. Item 1, dealing with events half a century in the past, does not suffer from such serious problems. However, since others of the alternatives to the three items had respectable Q-values, it may also be the case that the complexity of the "bad" statements, or their familiarity, rather than their contemporaneity of politization, caused the problem. Further research is necessary to clarify this point.

Since 16 of the total of 56 alternatives show some indication of ambiguity, the question arises whether it is legitimate to use the HK scale in the analyses of the larger ethnocentrism study. It would be best to suspend judgment on this matter until more expert raters can be obtained. Should there still be many large values of Q derived from the work of, for example, 50 raters, it would be possible to use the scale only in a very cautious manner, if at all. If, on the other hand, many of the large Q values were greatly reduced by this method, use of the scale could be made with more confidence. A highly irregular, ad hoc use of the scale could also be made by counting any student's choice of a "bad" alternative as if he had not answered. If choices were not concentrated among the "bad" alternatives, this would allow salvaging a part of the data; the effect upon the validity of the results would be difficult to predict.

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APPENDIX A: THE QUESTIONNAIRE

The questionnaire booklets given the high school students during autumn and spring administrations were identical, except for some changes in the instructions. Each student received two booklets in the same order, but the order of the components was randomized between students. Forms H and K were always separated by at least one other form; their order was also random.

INSTRUCTIONS

As you know, the social science curriculum is new at Kennedy this year. Because it's new, we are interested in knowing exactly how well the curriculum fits the needs and abilities of the students at Kennedy. This booklet is a survey of knowledge and attitudes related to the new social science curriculum. It's not a test of what you might have learned in other classes. It is a way of finding out what kind of general ability and general preparation Kennedy students have, and how well they can deal with social science materials.

Your answers will be anonymous. Don't put your name on this booklet. No teacher will see your answers, and I will not tell any teacher about how a particular student answered. We are interested only in group averages, not how you do as individuals.

We are not interested in how much you know about history, social science, political science, or anthropology, as much as we are interested in how you think about them. On some questions, there will be no right or wrong answers at all; these questions ask only for your own personal opinion or ideas.

Work quickly on these materials, but do not work carelessly. Try to finish as much as you can without getting sloppy. Don't worry if you don't finish completely.

When you finish a page, go right on to the next page. When you finish one of the forms, write the time you finished in the space provided. Then go right on. Read the instructions on the next form, and begin working.

If you have a question, raise your hand.

Please fill out this page completely. It asks for some general information about your school experiences. This information will be useful to us in determining how similar you, the people who participate in our study, are to the average Kennedy High School student. All answers will be completely confidential. Do not put your name on this page, or anywhere else in the questionnaire booklet.

Name of this class: _____ Hour: _____ Room: _____

What grade are you in? _____ Your sex: male _____ female _____

Please list all other social science, history, modern problems, or psychology courses you have had in high school:

	COURSE	FINAL GRADE
1.		
2.		
3.		
4.		

What was your over-all grade average last year? (check one space): A___ A-___

B+___ B___ B-___

C+___ C___ C-___

D+___ D___ D-___

F___

What grade do you expect to get at the end of this grading period (the first nine weeks) in this course? _____

What do you plan to do after high school? _____

Have you ever lived in another place in Minnesota, aside from Bloomington? _____
If so, where? _____

Have you ever lived outside of Minnesota, but still in the USA? _____. If so, where?
_____

Have you ever lived in a foreign country? _____ If so where? _____
For how long? _____

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SPRING INSTRUCTIONS

Last fall you participated in a survey of knowledge and attitudes related to the new social sciences curriculum. As we told you then, we are interested in knowing how well that curriculum fits the needs and abilities of the students at Kennedy. Now, about six months later, we are conducting a follow-up to that study. This will enable us to determine how much effect taking this course has on people, that is, how the course may change people.

Your answers will be anonymous. Don't put your name on this booklet. We are interested in comparing fall and spring responses, but we will match up the booklets by means of the numbers only. We are not interested in particular people, but in the average differences between fall and spring for the class as a whole. No teacher will see your answers, and I will not tell any teacher how a particular student answered.

We are not interested in how much you know about history, social science, political science, or anthropology, as much as we are interested in how you think about them. On some questions, there will be no right or wrong answers at all; these questions ask only for your own personal opinion or ideas.

Work quickly on these materials, but do not work carelessly. Try to finish as much as you can without getting sloppy. Don't worry if you don't finish completely.

When you finish a page, go right on to the next page. When you finish one of the forms, write the time you finished in the space provided. Then go right on. Read the instructions on the next form, and begin working.

If you have a question, raise your hand.

On the next few pages are some descriptions of recent world events and customs. Following each are several possible reasons for that event or custom. Please check the one reason which you feel is the most correct explanation.

There are no right or wrong answers to these questions. All of the explanations may apply to some degree. We are not interested in how much you know about these events and customs, but how you reason about them.

Check only one alternative for each question.

1. Hindu temples have many statues, carvings, gongs, banners, and incense. Why is this?

____ a. It is a form of idolatry.
____ b. That is how they have always been.
____ c. The Indians are simple people, and need these things in order to feel religious.
____ d. Indians like the smell of incense and like to look at bright lights and colors.
____ e. The priests of their temples insist on having these things.
____ f. The sale of these things supports many shopkeepers and peddlers.

2. In 1965, U.S. planes began bombing Laos even though Laos was neutral and had its neutrality guaranteed by the U.S. in 1962. Why was this?

____ a. The U.S. simply does not respect its treaties.
____ b. The Laotians are much like the North Vietnamese, and could be expected to favor the Viet Cong.
____ c. It was more convenient to bomb traffic on Laotian roads than to bomb in the jungles of Viet Nam.
____ d. The Laotians deserved it for aiding the Viet Cong.
____ e. It started out by accident when U.S. planes pursued Viet Cong across the border.

3. Why do you think the new trend of toplessness and going without bras upsets people so much?

____ a. The people who object are oldfashioned.
____ b. These fashions are immodest.
____ c. Girls who do this could cause damage to themselves, and perhaps later not be able to nurse their children.
____ d. People are afraid such fashions will lead to loose conduct and immorality.
____ e. Many people resist every change that comes along.
____ f. It is unChristian to go topless.

4. Some Africans paint themselves orange or white with colored clay before an important dance or ceremony. Why?

____ a. Because they are still savages.
____ b. They think it makes them look better.
____ c. Because everybody who goes to these ceremonies paints himself.
____ d. It's a symbol of the importance of the event.
____ e. Chiefs and witch doctors tell them they have to paint themselves.

5. A few years ago U.S. armies invaded the Dominican Republic (Santo Domingo). Why was this?

____ a. The Dominicans were trying to throw off the rule of an American-oriented military government, and to set up a more independent government.
____ b. The Americans acted to prevent certain Dominicans from keeping up a corrupt, illegal government.
____ c. The Dominican government was trying to establish more trade with other countries, and less with the U.S.
____ d. Some Dominicans were trying to establish a government in accordance with their constitution and restore the president who had been deposed by the military.
____ e. Some Dominicans were trying to overthrow the government of the country by violence and set up a communist government allied with Cuba.
____ f. The U.S. was acting on behalf of the Organization of American States to prevent the Russians from obtaining influence over Santo Domingo.

Time: _____

FORM S-2

This form asks you to give your reactions to other people as groups. We realize that you may know or imagine both good and bad members of any national or ethnic groups. However, we are asking for your reaction to the average member of these groups.

Below are seven kinds of relations you might have with another person. Please check the kinds of social relationship you would be willing to have with an average member of each group listed. Check as many columns for each group as your own feelings indicate.

Please give your first feelings in each case. Work quickly, without taking time to think. Don't worry about what others might think, for there are no right answers and your own first feelings are the most useful to us.

	1 Would marry into group	2 Would have as close friends	3 Would have as next door neighbors	4 Would work in same office	5 Have as speaking acquaint-ances only	6 Have as visitors only to this country	7 Not allow even to visit this country
Americans (U.S. white)							
Canadians							
Chinese							
Czechs							
English							
Filipinos							
French							
Germans							
Greeks							
Indians (American)							
Indians (of India)							
Italians							
Japanese							
Japanese (Americans)							
Jews							
Koreans							

Please remember to give your first feeling reactions for every group.

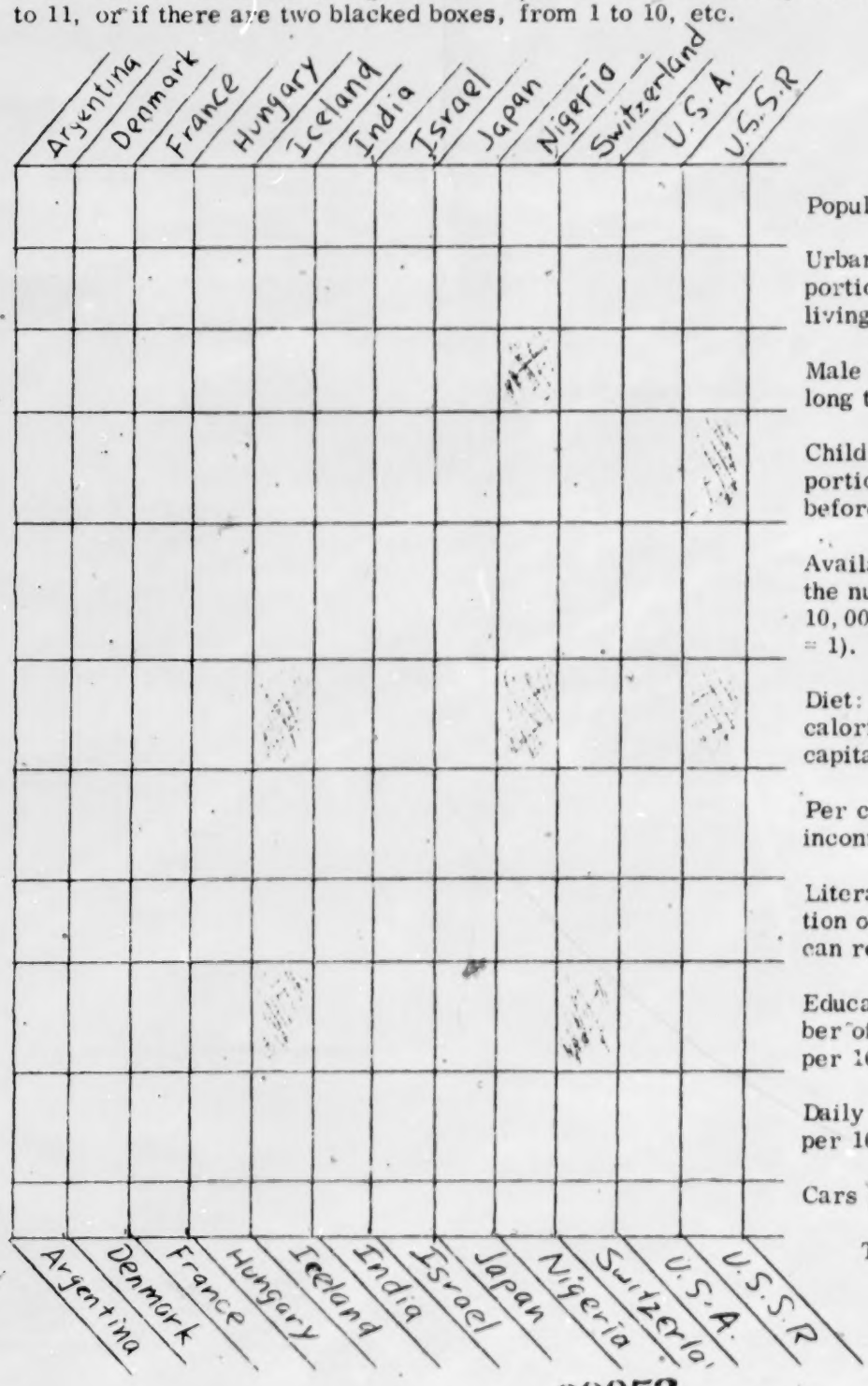
Remember to give your reactions to your chief picture of each group as a whole.

Also, check as many columns for each group as you feel you can, and work rapidly.

	Would marry one of them	Would have as close friends	Would have as next door neighbors	Would work in same office	Have as speaking acquaint-ances only	Have as visitors only to the U.S.	Would not even allow to visit this country
Mexicans							
Mexican-Americans							
Negroes							
Norwegians							
Poles							
Russians							

FORM R

INSTRUCTIONS: At the top of this page is an alphabetical list of twelve countries. We would like you to rank these countries in order on several measures of development or "modernity". You are not expected to know exactly which order they should go in, but only to give your best guess, on the basis of whatever you may know about these countries. The country which is best in each category should be numbered "1", the next best "2", and the smallest, poorest, or least developed on that category, should be numbered "12". A blacked-in box means no figures are available for that country; rank the others from 1 to 11, or if there are two blacked boxes, from 1 to 10, etc.



00052

Form H

On the next few pages are some descriptions of recent world events and customs. Following each are several possible reasons for that event or custom. Please check the one reason which you feel is the most correct explanation.

There are no right or wrong answers to these questions. All of the explanations may apply to some degree. We are not interested in how much you know about these events and customs, but how you reason about them.

Check only one alternative for each question.

1. During both World War I and II, Germany declared war on France, but attacked first against Belgium, even though Belgium was neutral. Why was this?

___ a. This was simply a case of Nazi treachery.
___ b. Many Belgians speak French, and could be expected to side with France.
___ c. Belgium was a convenient way to get into French territory because it had good roads and was not fortified.
___ d. The Belgians deserved it for provoking the Germans.
___ e. It happened by chance--the German armies near Belgium just got moving faster.

2. Polish Catholic churches often have many images of saints, candles, votive lights, shrines, and use much incense. Why is this?

___ a. It is a form of idolatry.
___ b. Because that is the way they were in Poland.
___ c. Because the Poles are simple people and need many aids to faith.
___ d. Because the Poles like bright colors, lights, and good-smelling things.
___ e. Because the priests want it that way.
___ f. Because that way certain businessmen who sell these things can make more money.

3. Many Arabs are shocked by women who go out without veils over their faces. Why is this?

___ a. They are old-fashioned.
___ b. It is immodest to go out that way.
___ c. The veil is practical--it keeps women from breathing too much desert dust.
___ d. The men are afraid that women who don't wear the veil will talk too much to strange men.
___ e. Arabs do not like to change their ways.
___ f. The Koran specifically requires women to wear veils.

4. Before a dance or some other big event, some girls spend a tremendous amount of time getting their hair fixed and making themselves up. What do you think is the reason for this?

___ a. Because they are cheap or vulgar.
___ b. They want to look their best.
___ c. Because all the girls who go to these events do it.
___ d. It shows that they respect the importance of the event.
___ e. They have been brainwashed by the cosmetic manufacturers advertising.

5. The Russians invaded Czechoslovakia last year because:

____ a. Some Czechs were trying to overthrow the government of the country by violence and set up a capitalist system allied with West Germany.
____ b. Some Czechs were trying to establish a more humane communist system with more experimental ideas and freedom of expression and less dependence on Russia.
____ c. The Czech government was trying to export more to, and import more from, western Europe, and the Russians didn't want to lose that trade.
____ d. The Czechs were trying to throw off the rule of Russian-oriented dictator, and to set up a more independent government.
____ e. The Russians acted to prevent certain Czechs from keeping up a corrupt, illegal government.
____ f. The Russians acted under the Warsaw Pact to prevent western nations from obtaining influence over Czechoslovakia.

Time: _____

Form E

The following statements refer to opinions regarding a number of social groups and issues, about which some people agree and others disagree. Please circle the statement according to your agreement or disagreement as follows:

A. Jews

1. One trouble with Jewish businessmen is that they stick together and prevent other people from having a fair chance in competition.

+1: slight support, agreement -1: slight opposition, disagreement
+2: moderate support, agreement -2: moderate opposition, disagreement
+3: strong support, agreement -3: strong opposition, disagreement

2. I can hardly imagine myself marrying a Jew.

+1: slight support, agreement -1: slight opposition, disagreement
+2: moderate support, agreement -2: moderate opposition, disagreement
+3: strong support, agreement -3: strong opposition, disagreement

3. There may be a few exceptions, but in general Jews are pretty much alike.

+1: slight support, agreement -1: slight opposition, disagreement
+2: moderate support, agreement -2: moderate opposition, disagreement
+3: strong support, agreement -3: strong opposition, disagreement

4. The trouble with letting Jews into a nice neighborhood is that they gradually give it a typical Jewish atmosphere.

+1: slight support, agreement -1: slight opposition, disagreement
+2: moderate support, agreement -2: moderate opposition, disagreement
+3: strong support, agreement -3: strong opposition, disagreement

5. To end prejudice against Jews, the first step is for the Jews to try sincerely to get rid of their harmful and irritating faults.

+1: slight support, agreement -1: slight opposition, disagreement
+2: moderate support, agreement -2: moderate opposition, disagreement
+3: strong support, agreement -3: strong opposition, disagreement

6. There is something different and strange about Jews; it's hard to tell what they are thinking and planning, and what makes them tick.

+1: slight support, agreement -1: slight opposition, disagreement
+2: moderate support, agreement -2: moderate opposition, disagreement
+3: strong support, agreement -3: strong opposition, disagreement

B. Negroes

1. Negroes have their rights, but it is best to keep them in their own districts and schools and to prevent too much contact with whites.

+1: slight support, agreement -1: slight opposition, disagreement
+2: moderate support, agreement -2: moderate opposition, disagreement
+3: strong support, agreement -3: strong opposition, disagreement

2. It would be a mistake ever to have Negroes for foremen and leaders over whites.

+1: slight support, agreement
+2: moderate support, agreement
+3: strong support, agreement
-1: slight opposition, disagreement
-2: moderate opposition, disagreement
-3: strong opposition, disagreement

3. Negro musicians may sometimes be as good as white musicians, but it is a mistake to have mixed Negro-white bands.

+1: slight support, agreement
+2: moderate support, agreement
+3: strong support, agreement
-1: slight opposition, disagreement
-2: moderate opposition, disagreement
-3: strong opposition, disagreement

4. Manual labor and unskilled jobs seem to fit the Negro mentality and ability better than more skilled or responsible work.

+1: slight support, agreement
+2: moderate support, agreement
+3: strong support, agreement
-1: slight opposition, disagreement
-2: moderate opposition, disagreement
-3: strong opposition, disagreement

5. The people who raise all the talk about putting Negroes on the same level as whites are mostly radical agitators trying to stir up conflicts.

+1: slight support, agreement
+2: moderate support, agreement
+3: strong support, agreement
-1: slight opposition, disagreement
-2: moderate opposition, disagreement
-3: strong opposition, disagreement

6. Most Negroes would become overbearing and disagreeable if not kept in their place.

+1: slight support, agreement
+2: moderate support, agreement
+3: strong support, agreement
-1: slight opposition, disagreement
-2: moderate opposition, disagreement
-3: strong opposition, disagreement

C. Other Minorities and Patriotism

1. Hippies prove that when people of their type have too much money and freedom, they just take advantage and cause trouble.

+1: slight support, agreement
+2: moderate support, agreement
+3: strong support, agreement
-1: slight opposition, disagreement
-2: moderate opposition, disagreement
-3: strong opposition, disagreement

2. The worst danger to real Americanism during the last 50 years has come from foreign ideas and agitators.

+1: slight support, agreement
+2: moderate support, agreement
+3: strong support, agreement
-1: slight opposition, disagreement
-2: moderate opposition, disagreement
-3: strong opposition, disagreement

3. Now that The United Nations is set up, America must be sure that she loses none of her independence and complete power as a sovereign nation.

+1: slight support, agreement
+2: moderate support, agreement
+3: strong support, agreement
-1: slight opposition, disagreement
-2: moderate opposition, disagreement
-3: strong opposition, disagreement

4. Certain religious sects who refuse to salute the flag should be forced to conform to such a patriotic action, or else be abolished.

+1: slight support, agreement
+2: moderate support, agreement
+3: strong support, agreement
-1: slight opposition, disagreement
-2: moderate opposition, disagreement
-3: strong opposition, disagreement

5. Filipinos are all right in their place, but they carry it too far when they dress lavishly and go around with white girls.

+1: slight support, agreement
+2: moderate support, agreement
+3: strong support, agreement
-1: slight opposition, disagreement
-2: moderate opposition, disagreement
-3: strong opposition, disagreement

6. America may not be perfect, but the American Way has brought us about as close as human beings can get to a perfect society.

+1: slight support, agreement
+2: moderate support, agreement
+3: strong support, agreement
-1: slight opposition, disagreement
-2: moderate opposition, disagreement
-3: strong opposition, disagreement

7. It is only natural and right for each person to think that his family is better than any other.

+1: slight support, agreement
+2: moderate support, agreement
+3: strong support, agreement
-1: slight opposition, disagreement
-2: moderate opposition, disagreement
-3: strong opposition, disagreement

8. The best guarantee of our national security is for America to have the biggest army and navy in the world and the atom bomb.

+1: slight support, agreement
+2: moderate support, agreement
+3: strong support, agreement
-1: slight opposition, disagreement
-2: moderate opposition, disagreement
-3: strong opposition, disagreement

Time: _____

Form W

On the next few pages are a number of statements on national and international issues. Please circle the alternative which indicates the extent of your agreement or disagreement with that statement.

1. Our country should have the right to prohibit certain racial and religious groups from entering it to live.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

2. Immigrants should not be permitted to come into our country if they compete with our own workers.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

3. It would be a dangerous procedure if every person in the world had equal rights which were guaranteed by an international charter.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

4. All prices for exported food and manufactured goods should be set by an international trade committee.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

5. Our country is probably no better than many others.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

6. Race prejudice may be a good thing for us because it keeps many undesirable foreigners from coming into this country.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

7. It would be a mistake for us to encourage certain racial groups to become well educated because they might use their knowledge against us.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

8. We should be willing to fight for our country without questioning whether it is right or wrong.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

9. Foreigners are particularly obnoxious because of their religious beliefs.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

10. Immigration should be controlled by an international organization rather than by each country on its own.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

11. We ought to have a world government to guarantee the welfare of all nations irrespective of the rights of any one.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

12. Our country should not cooperate in any international trade agreements which attempt to better world economic conditions at our expense.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

13. It would be better to be a citizen of the world than of any particular country.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

14. Our responsibility to people of other races ought to be as great as our responsibility to people of our own race.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

15. An international committee on education should have full control over what is taught in all countries about history and politics.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

16. Our country should refuse to cooperate in a total disarmament program even if some other nations agreed to it.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

17. It would be dangerous for our country to make international agreements with nations whose religious beliefs are antagonistic to ours.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

18. Any healthy individual, regardless of race or religion, should be allowed to live whereever he wants to in the world.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

19. Our country should not participate in any international organization which requires that we give up any of our national rights or freedom of action.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

20. If necessary, we ought to be willing to lower our standard of living to cooperate with other countries in getting an equal standard for every person in the world.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

21. We should strive for loyalty to our country before we can afford to consider world brotherhood.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

22. Some races ought to be considered naturally less intelligent than ours.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

23. Our schools should teach the history of the whole world rather than of our own country.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

24. An international police force ought to be the only group in the world allowed to have armaments.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

25. It would be dangerous for us to guarantee by international agreement that every person in the world should have complete religious freedom.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

26. Our country should permit the immigration of foreign peoples even if it lowers our standard of living.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

27. All national governments ought to be abolished and replaced by one central world government.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

28. It would not be wise for us to agree that working conditions in all countries should be subject to international control.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

29. Patriotism should be a primary aim of education so our children will believe our country is the best in the world.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

30. It would be a good idea if all the races were to intermarry until there was only one race in the world.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

31. We should teach our children to uphold the welfare of all people everywhere even though it may be against the best interests of our own country.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

32. War should never be justifiable even if it is the only way to protect our national rights and honor.

strongly agree agree mildly agree mildly disagree disagree strongly disagree

Time: _____

APPENDIX B

SCALING QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE GILFILLAN SCALE OF ETHNOCENTRIC EVALUATION

UNIVERSITY OF *Minnesota*

496 Ford Hall

LABORATORY FOR RESEARCH IN SOCIAL RELATIONS
MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA 55455

Dear Anthropologist:

About six weeks ago, we distributed the enclosed questionnaire to all faculty and grad students of the Anthropology department, with the support of Dr. Miller. Some of the copies may not have been received, since we used the departmental office mailboxes; others may have been mislaid in the year-end rush. So far, thirteen copies of the form have been returned to us. Interestingly, the faculty return rate has been better than that of the graduate students.

If you have <u>not</u> filled out the questionnaire, we would appreciate your filling it out now, and returning it to us by mail. If you <u>have</u> responded already, please ignore this reminder.

Sincerely,

Susan & David Gilfillan

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
TWIN CITIES

Department of Anthropology
210 Ford Hall
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455

June 2, 1972

Dear Anthropologist:

I would like to ask your cooperation in a research project of considerable importance.

Mrs. Susan Gilfillan, who holds BA and MA degrees from this department, teaches anthropology at Kennedy High School, Bloomington. Her course was the first year-long high school course in the area; a number of other suburban high schools have since added the subject.

Sue and her husband, David, have been interested in assessing whether high school students' levels of ethnocentrism are lowered by exposure to the anthropology course. A sample of anthropology students were compared with students in other elective and required social science courses. All these students filled out questionnaires twice, in the fall and in the spring, so that changes over the year could be measured.

The Gilfillans used several measures of ethnocentrism from the literature of social psychology. These measures all ask respondents to check attitude statements with which they agree or disagree. The Gilfillans also developed two original measures, which are designed to tap ethnocentric (or non-ethnocentric) evaluative processes in the respondents, rather than mere attitudes. I would like to ask your help in the development of these measures.

The enclosed questionnaire is a device to record your expert opinion regarding just how ethnocentric each of the statements in the new measure is. This procedure, technically called scaling, has two purposes: to detect bad items (those on which experts disagree), and to give a solid empirical basis to a scale by averaging many experts' ratings to obtain a scale value, or score, to be associated with each item.

Please take the time to respond to the enclosed questionnaire. It will be helpful, not only to the Gilfillans, but to the field of social psychology in general, if a better measure of ethnocentrism can be developed.

Thank you.

Sincerely,

Frank C Miller

Frank Miller, Professor
and Chairman

Ethnocentrism scale development evaluation form.

Although it is late in the year, we would appreciate your help in developing a new, and hopefully better, questionnaire measure of ethnocentrism. If you simply can't spare an hour right now, please keep this form, and mail it back to us later this month, or even in July. It is important to us to obtain many expert ratings of our items; we will happily reimburse you for postage from wherever you may be summering.

The rationale of our scale is somewhat different from that of the usual scale. Social psychological scales of such characteristics as ethnocentrism usually ask the responding subject to check his level of agreement or disagreement with an attitudinal statement, such as "All Negroes are lazy". While it is certainly true that ethnocentrism involves holding prejudiced, or stereotyped, attitudes, we felt that there is more involved. In particular, we believe that ethnocentrism affects the way the person processes and reacts to new information. We hope our scale taps ethnocentric processing, as opposed to ethnocentric attitudes.

Your evaluation of the scale items, and those of your colleagues, will allow us to give clear, non-idiosyncratic meanings to the items. This Thurstone "method of equal appearing intervals" detects ambiguous items, those on which the experts' opinions vary widely. The procedure also allows assigning scale values to the items based on the average (mean or median) ratings by the experts.

The scale which follows consists of ten brief statements of a custom or event, each followed by a series of statements which could explain or rationalize that event or practice. The situations were selected so as to be not completely unfamiliar, yet not so familiar that they would provoke automatic, stereotyped reactions. Students were asked to select the "most correct" explanation of each event or custom.

Your task is to rate each of the evaluative items on the scale provided, in terms of how ethnocentric an analysis it is. The scale runs from a value of 1 (not ethnocentric) to a value of 7 (very ethnocentric); the numbers designate equal steps of ethnocentrism, from least to most. Please circle only one number; do not mark any intermediate value, such as $3\frac{1}{2}$.

Our definition of ethnocentrism is general: the tendency to rate ones' own culture and society highly as regards priority and worth, and rate others lower or less sympathetically. Your own definition may be more specific, or different in other ways. Please use your own definition; we are interested in discovering items which will be valid under all definitions of ethnocentrism. Please do not consider any other factor except ethnocentrism in making your ratings. For instance, an item might consist of a negative evaluation of a particular event, but in terms that a member of the group would use. Such an item, though negative, would not be considered ethnocentric.

The various explanatory items were designed to reflect varying levels of ethnocentrism. However, we do not expect your ratings of the items to fall into any particular distribution. Please consider each item carefully, but do not take too much time over any one item: give it your best estimate and go on. Read over a few pages before you begin rating, so as to familiarize yourself with the range of the material.

Please return your questionnaire in the attached envelope; we will gladly reimburse you for postage if you can't use campus mail. Your reply may be anonymous or not, as you wish. We would be glad to have your comments and suggestions about any of the items, and suggestions for other, similar items. We will be happy to discuss any aspect of this research with you, too.

We deeply appreciate your help. Thank you.

Sue and Dave Gilfillan
378-0900
373-3962

The following instructions were given to the students who responded to the questionnaire:

On the next few pages are some descriptions of recent world events and customs. Following each are several possible reasons for that event or custom. Please check the one reason which you feel is the most correct explanation.

There are no right or wrong answers to these questions. All of the explanations may apply to some degree. We are not interested in how much you know about these events and customs, but how you reason about them.

Check only one alternative for each question.

1. Polish Catholic churches often have many images of saints, candles, votive lights, shrines, and use much incense. Why is this?

   a. It is a form of idolatry.

      not ethnocentric: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7: very ethnocentric

   b. Because that is the way they were in Poland.

      not ethnocentric: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7: very ethnocentric

   c. Because the Poles are simple people and need many aids to faith.

      not ethnocentric: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7: very ethnocentric

   d. Because the Poles like bright colors, lights, and good-smelling things.

      not ethnocentric: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7: very ethnocentric

   e. Because the priests want it that way.

      not ethnocentric: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7: very ethnocentric